

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY AF/S:FGWISNER:NB

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

E:MR. ROGERS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT KAUNDA

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA

2. "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT NYERERE WILL BE MEETING VERY SHORTLY TO DISCUSS THE RHODESIAN SITUATION, IAN SMITH'S STATEMENT AND THE NEXT STEPS IN A SETTLEMENT. I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH YOU.

3. "THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS, IN MY JUDGMENT, THAT ALL OF US MUST KEEP IN MIND AS WE CONSIDER WHAT IAN SMITH SAID. FIRST, SMITH'S REMARKS WERE ADDRESSED TO AN AUDIENCE WHICH COULD ONLY RECEIVE THE NEWS WITH THE DEEPEST SENSE OF SHOCK. HE THEREFORE USED LANGUAGE WE WOULD NOT HAVE RECOMMENDED BUT WHICH HAS TO BE UNDERSTOOD. SECOND, THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES ARE NOW IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO MAJORITY RULE WITHIN A TWO-YEAR PERIOD. THIRD, THEY ARE

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ALSO COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A BLACK MAJORITY INTER-

IM GOVERNMENT. FOURTH, THE SIXTH POINT IN SMITH'S ANNOUNCE-  
HENT - THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM - IS A MATTER FOR DISCUSSION  
WITH THE MEMBERS OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM AND NOT A

SUBJECT ON WHICH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS NEED TAKE A  
POSITION. FIFTH, THE SPECIFICITY OF SMITH'S PROPOSALS IS  
DUE IN LARGE PART TO OUR PRESSURE. WE FEARED THAT A GEN-  
ERAL PROPOSAL WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE HIM TO PROCRASTINATE  
LATER.

4. "THERE ARE ASPECTS OF SMITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH WILL  
HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED IN GREATER DETAIL. I WOULD LIKE TO  
SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS:

-- I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A MEETING TO NEGOTIATE THE FORMA-  
TION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT NEED TAKE PLACE IN  
SALISBURY OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN RHODESIA. NOR DO I BELIEVE  
THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO HOLD SUCH A MEETING IN  
LONDON. WE ARE PREPARED AS YOU AND I DISCUSSED TO BACK  
THE CONVENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ANY OTHER PLACE MUT-  
UALLY CONVENIENT TO ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

-- THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY THAT, UNDER THE PROPOSALS,  
SMITH CAN RUN THE SHOW. INDEED, ONCE THE INTERIM GOVERN-  
MENT IS FORMED, THE PRESENT STRUCTURE IN SALISBURY WOULD  
DISAPPEAR.

-- IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT EACH SIDE IN THE NEGO-  
TIATIONS WILL BE FREE TO NOMINATE ITS COMMUNITY'S MEMBERS  
TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE. EVEN THOUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD BE EUROPEAN, IT IS OUR UNDERSTAND-  
ING THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE SELECTED WITH THE APPROVAL  
OF THE OTHER MEMBERS. IN SHORT, HIS SELECTION COULD ONLY  
BE BASED ON A CONSENSUS OF THE MEMBERS AT LARGE.

-- THE UNITED STATES WILL PROMOTE NO INDIVIDUAL OR FACTION  
ON THE AFRICAN SIDE. THAT RESPONSIBILITY FALLS TO THE  
RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS AND IN THIS MATTER YOU AND  
PRESIDENT NYERERE HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY.

5. "I BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER QUESTIONS RAISED BY IAN  
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SMITH'S STATEMENT ARE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION. IT IS MY  
JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, THAT AN UNGENEROUS RESPONSE TO SMITH'S  
STATEMENT AT THIS POINT WILL GIVE HIM THE CHANCE WHICH  
HE MAY WISH, TO BACK AWAY FROM HIS COMMITMENT. WE MUST  
AVOID SUCH AN EVENTUALITY AT ALL COSTS. THE PROPOSALS  
WHICH WE ADVANCED TO SMITH ARE A DISTILLATION OF THE CON-  
SULTATIONS WE HAD WITH YOU AND THE OTHER FRONT LINE PRESI-  
DENTS AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

6. "WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING MATTERS  
THIS FAR AND CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS  
IF THE FRAMEWORK WHICH THE SMITH ANNOUNCEMENT OFFERS DOES

NOT LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS. A BREAKDOWN IN THE SETTLEMENT  
AT THIS POINT COULD ONLY LEAD TO CONTINUED AND ESCALATING  
VIOLENCE, SO A DECISION NOT TO ACCEPT THE OPPORTUNITY NOW  
OFFERED WOULD BE A SERIOUS ONE. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW, IN  
SHORT, IS A POSITIVE RESPONSE WHICH WILL MAINTAIN MOMENTUM.  
A POSITIVE RESPONSE IS NEEDED FROM THE AFRICAN LEADERS NOW  
BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT CONTINUED US PRESSURE MAY BE  
NECESSARY TO KEEP THE RHODESIANS TO THE EXECUTION OF THE  
CONDITIONS IN THE PROPOSALS. THIS WE PLEDGE, IF THE  
AFRICAN RESPONSE ENABLES NEGOTIATIONS TO GO FORWARD.

7. "YOUR WISDOM AND FORESIGHT HAS BEEN VITAL IN BRINGING  
THE PROCESS THUS FAR AND I COMPLETELY SHARE THE VIEWS YOU  
SO ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED THAT THERE MAY NOT BE ANOTHER OP-  
PORTUNITY AND MATTERS MAY TAKE THEIR INEXORABLE  
COURSE. IT IS MY EARNEST HOPE THAT THE MOMENTUM TOWARDS  
A SETTLEMENT AND PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED AND THAT THE  
PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL MEET WITHOUT DELAY.

8. "I LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING YOURS AND PRESIDENT  
NYERERE'S AND PRESIDENT KHAMA'S VIEWS. WITH  
WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER" KISSINGER

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